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ABSTRACT

A study was conducted to compare "Time" and "Newsweek" magazines' fairness and coverage in the various presidential campaigns of the three Kennedy brothers. Researchers examined every story the two magazines published about John Kennedy's primary campaign, beginning January 1, 1960, and ending with his nomination at the Democratic convention that summer. Stories about Robert Kennedy were analyzed from January 1, 1968, until the week of his assassination, and stories about Edward Kennedy were analyzed from January 1, 1980, until the week of President Jimmy Carter's renomination. The researchers studied 10 different types of statements that appeared in the stories, recording instances of attribution and adverbial and adjectival bias, as well as statements about the Kennedys' ages, appearance, personalities, families, religion, and wealth. Statements were rated favorable, neutral, or unfavorable. Analysis revealed that statements published about the three brothers by both magazines were approximately about 20% favorable, 50% neutral, and about 30% unfavorable. Both magazines treated President John Kennedy more favorably than they treated either of his brothers. "Time" published 454 adverbial and adjectival phrases about John, Robert, and Edward, while "Newsweek" published only half as many, but the magazines were remarkably consistent in their slant, with just over half of these phrases in both magazines rated favorable. (HTH)

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Time, Newsweek and the Kennedys:

A Study of Three Presidential Elections

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By

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Time, Newsweek and the Kennedys:

A Study of Three Presidential Elections

Time and Newsweek magazines are enormously successful and enormously influential. Together, the two magazines are read by 40 million Americans every week.

Despite its popularity, a former writer for Time complained that the magazine was "dishonestly written" and that, "Every single story carries the slant of the editor, Henry Luce."[1] Author David Halberstam called Luce a "national propagandist," and a recent article in The Los Angeles Times explained that, "Henry Luce was a Calvinist and a conservative, and his view of the world was Time's view of the world--morally, socially, intellectually and, most important of all, politically."[2]

Luce himself admitted: "Listen, I don't pretend that this is an objective magazine. It's an editorial magazine from the first page to the last, and whatever comes out has to reflect my view, and that's the way it is."[3]

Time's editors insist that the magazine has become more objective. Other journalists rely upon Time, and many now consider it one of the nation's fairest and most reliable publications.[4] Newsweek, its main competitor, has always claimed that it is a fairer, more objective publication, and that it "separates fact from fiction."

But a story that Time published during the 1980 presidential election began: "His face red, his beefy right fist chopping the air, Ted Kennedy roared..." to "a sparse crowd." The story added that Kennedy's "line had fallen flat," that his

campaign was "troubled," that he "sidestepped six questions in a row" and that he "seldom spelled out his economic plans." The story used the words "cried" and "preached" to attribute some of his remarks. It also reminded readers of his persistent problems with Chappaquiddick.[5]

The story's slant was so obviously negative and one-sided that it cast doubt upon the claims that Time has become a fairer, more impartial publication. But the story's criticisms of Edward Kennedy also raised a second issue that may puzzle some readers. During the 1960 presidential election, Time seemed to treat John F. Kennedy with a genuine impartiality and respect.[6] Why, by 1980, had it become so critical of his youngest brother?

The 1980 presidential election provided an ideal opportunity to study both issues: to re-examine Time and Newsweek's fairness and to compare their coverage of the presidential campaigns launched by John, Robert and Edward Kennedy. By comparing the coverage of all three presidential campaigns, the study might reveal the stereotypes or caricatures that emerged during each brother's presidential campaign, from the apparent romance of Camelot to the debacle of 1980. In addition, the study might also reveal changes in the magazines' content and changes in the importance of various issues (such as the Kennedys' wealth and Catholicism).

In an earlier study, Merrill found that Time used six techniques to stereotype Presidents Truman, Eisenhower and Kennedy: attribution bias, adjective bias, adverbial bias, contextual bias, photographic bias and outright opinion. Merrill concluded, "Time editorialized in its regular 'news' columns to a great extent and used a whole series of tricks to bias the stories...."[7]

Fedler, Meeske and Hall found that Time used similar techniques to portray President Lyndon Johnson as a master politician; President Richard Nixon (before Watergate) as a shrewd, serious leader; Nixon (after Watergate) as a wounded leader, besieged by problems; President Gerald Ford as a down-to-earth person

but slow to exert leadership; and President Jimmy Carter as a well-intentioned but inexperienced politician with lofty aspirations.[8] Fedler, Meeske and Hall also reported that, "Time quoted a great many sources who agreed with its conclusions and few who disagreed...."[9]

Methodology

For this study, the authors examined every news story that Time and Newsweek published about John Kennedy's primary campaign, beginning Jan. 1, 1960, and ending with his nomination at the Democratic convention that summer. News stories about Robert Kennedy were analyzed from Jan. 1, 1968, until the week of his assassination, and news stories about Edward Kennedy were analyzed from Jan. 1, 1980, until the week of Jimmy Carter's renomination.

The authors studied 10 different types of statements which appeared in the stories. Following the example of the two earlier studies, they recorded instances of attribution and adverbial and adjectival bias. In addition, they also recorded and analyzed statements about six issues frequently associated with the Kennedys: their age, appearance, personalities, families, religion and wealth. In 1960, for example, John Kennedy told friends that he "had three strikes against him--his age, his religion and his money."[10]

Finally, this study also examined Time and Newsweek's use of identified and anonymous sources. By conducting a more systematic analysis of the news magazines' sources and the remarks attributed to those sources, the authors hoped to learn whether the magazines were more likely to quote sources (especially anonymous sources) who reflected and reinforced rather than contradicted their editorial viewpoints.

Following a pretest to evaluate their procedures, copies of all 2,060 statements were given to each of the three authors. The statements' length varied from a few

words to several paragraphs. The authors rejected the idea of using a random sample because, although some categories contained more than 100 statements, others contained fewer than a dozen.

Working independently, the authors--all experienced newsmen--rated each statement "Favorable," "Neutral" or "Unfavorable." However, they rated the statements "Favorable" or "Unfavorable" only when they were obviously so. When in doubt, they asked themselves, "Would the candidate himself want to have this statement printed, and would the candidate consider it favorable or unfavorable, beneficial or harmful?" Mixed statements--those containing some remarks that might be rated "Favorable," and some that might be rated "Unfavorable," were judged "Neutral" along with the statements that had no obvious slant.

The authors then met and compared their ratings. If they disagreed about a statement, they discussed it, then rated it a second time. If they continued to disagree, they discarded that statement. Thus, they considered a statement "Favorable," "Neutral" or "Unfavorable" and included it in the study only if all three agreed with its rating.

Philosophical differences occasionally made agreement difficult. Both Time and Newsweek called the Kennedys (especially John Kennedy): "young," "rich," "bold" and "Catholic." Some persons might consider those labels neutral, but others might consider them favorable or unfavorable. Several news stories also reported that John Kennedy had aggravated a back injury while serving in the U.S. Navy during World War II. Again, some persons might consider an injured veteran an ideal political candidate, but others might consider an injury of any type a handicap for a presidential candidate.

Other statements were ambiguous. For example: is it favorable or unfavorable for a candidate to be "shockheaded," "a reborn campaigner" or "rolling like a big wheel"?

Despite the problems, the authors immediately agreed upon the ratings of 82% of the 2,060 statements. After their meetings and discussions, they agreed upon the ratings of an additional 10%. So a total of 1,896 statements--92%--were included in the study.

John Kennedy conducted the longest and most successful presidential campaign, and 820 of the statements described his efforts in 1960. There were 511 statements about Robert Kennedy's 1968 campaign and 565 statements about Edward Kennedy's 1980 campaign.

While discussing the statements, the authors also reviewed their placement in the 10 categories and changed the categorization of about two dozen statements. Finally, they formulated three hypotheses to test the magazines' fairness:

ONE: The statements published by Time magazine are more likely to be slanted (favorable or unfavorable) than the statements published by Newsweek.

TWO: The news magazines treated John Kennedy more favorably than Robert or Edward Kennedy.

THREE: Both Time and Newsweek are more likely to quote sources, especially anonymous sources, who agree with their editorial viewpoints than who disagree with their editorial viewpoints.

Findings and Analysis

Time magazine published 962 statements about John, Robert and Edward Kennedy, compared with 934 for Newsweek. Their slant was surprisingly similar: 20.8% of the statements published by Time and 21.5% of the statements published by Newsweek were rated favorable, 49% of the statements in Time and 45.1% of the statements in Newsweek were neutral, and 30.2% of the statements in Time and 33.4% of the statements in Newsweek were unfavorable.

The results fail to support the first hypothesis, which states that, "The statements published by Time magazine are more likely to be slanted (favorable or unfavorable) than the statements published by Newsweek" ($X^2 = 3.19$, df = 2, NSD). Because Time's and Newsweek's coverage were so similar, all the statements they published about the Kennedys were combined during the remainder of the analysis.

As expected, Time and Newsweek treated John Kennedy more favorably than either of his brothers. Twenty-eight percent of the statements they published about John Kennedy were favorable, compared to 21% of the statements about Robert Kennedy and 12% of the statements about Edward Kennedy (See Table I). The favorable statements about John Kennedy outnumbered the unfavorable statements published about him by a ratio of 1.6 to 1. The ratio for Robert Kennedy was reversed, with only 1 favorable statement for each 1.7 unfavorable statements. The ratio for Edward Kennedy was even more negative, with only 1 favorable statement for each 4.3 unfavorable statements.

The results support the second hypothesis, which states that, "The news magazines treated John Kennedy more favorably than Robert or Edward Kennedy" ($X^2 = 176.84$, df = 2, $p < .001$).

Time quoted a total of only 20 anonymous sources and 61 identified sources during the brothers' three presidential campaigns. By comparison, Newsweek quoted 116 anonymous and 70 identified sources. Twenty-eight percent of the statements attributed to the identified sources were favorable, 21% were neutral and 52% were unfavorable. By comparison, 21% of the statements attributed to the anonymous sources were favorable, 38% were neutral and 42% were unfavorable. The differences were statistically significant ($X^2 = 32.14$, df = 2, $p < .001$). However, the identified rather than the anonymous sources were most likely to favor the candidates treated most favorably by the news magazines.

The results fail to support the third hypothesis. It stated that, "Both Time and Newsweek are more likely to quote sources, especially anonymous sources, who agree with their editorial viewpoints than who disagree with those viewpoints" (See Table II).

The results are clearer when the statements the anonymous and identified sources voiced about John Kennedy are separated and studied by themselves (See Table III). Again, statements made by the anonymous and identified sources are significantly different ($X^2 = 6.10$, df = 2, $p < .05$). Statements made by the anonymous sources are more likely to be neutral and to be evenly divided between the "Favorable" and "Unfavorable" categories. Statements made by identified sources are less likely to be neutral and more likely to be favorable or unfavorable. Time and Newsweek generally treated John Kennedy favorably but--contrary to the hypothesis--the identified sources treated him more favorably than the anonymous sources.

The following analysis of the 10 major categories of statements helps reveal popular stereotypes which emerged during the brothers' presidential campaigns. The analysis also helps explain why Time and Newsweek (and perhaps the American public as well) liked John Kennedy more than either of his brothers and why the importance of various issues changed during their campaigns.

1. Attribution

Time and Newsweek attributed 298 statements to the Kennedys. Three percent of the attribution was judged "Favorable," 86% was "Neutral" and 11% was "Unfavorable." However, only 8% of the attribution for John Kennedy was unfavorable, compared to 14% for Robert Kennedy and 17% for Edward Kennedy.

As they selected the words of attribution, editors at both magazines seemed to be primarily concerned about the problem of selecting words that were colorful and varied. Typically, Newsweek used 45 different words to attribute 96 statements

to John Kennedy. Both Time and Newsweek reported that he "added," "advocated," "calculated," "confided," "hoped," "pledged," "reasoned," "suggested," "thought" and "urged," for example.

More negatively, John Kennedy also "admitted," "conceded," "damned," "muttered," "rumbled" and "snapped." Similarly, Robert Kennedy "cried," "croaked," "sermonized" and "stammered," and Edward Kennedy "bellowed," "roared," "snorted" and "shouted."

2. Age

John Kennedy was only 42 years old when he started his 1960 campaign. Time and Newsweek published 41 statements about his age, but only 7% of those statements were favorable. News stories said he was immature, inexperienced and "too young to deal with the Russians." Lyndon Johnson called him "young Jack," and Milton Berle kidded that, "He's drinking Pablum on the rocks."

Robert Kennedy also was 42 when he started his presidential campaign, but John Kennedy's success in 1960 seemed to convince the public that their age was unimportant. Time and Newsweek published only 8 statements about Robert Kennedy's age, and most of those statements simply noted that both John and Robert Kennedy were 42 at the time they launched their campaigns. Newsweek added that, unlike John Kennedy, "Bobby does not have to convince voters of his maturity."

Edward Kennedy was 48 at the start of his campaign, and only two stories mentioned his age. Time called him "the youngest Kennedy," and Newsweek reported that he was younger than a Democratic rival.

3. Adverbs and Adjectives

Time, long famous for its colorful style of writing, published 454 adverbial and adjectival phrases about John, Robert and Edward Kennedy. Newsweek published only half that many: 238. Nevertheless, the magazines were remarkably consistent

in their slant. Fifty-four percent of the adverbial and adjectival phrases Time published about John Kennedy were favorable, compared with 59% of the phrases published by Newsweek. Twenty-three percent of the adverbial and adjectival phrases Time published about Robert Kennedy, and 12% of the phrases it published about Edward Kennedy, were favorable, compared with 22% and 11%, respectively, in Newsweek

Time called John Kennedy a "boy wonder" and explained that he was charming, persuasive, shrewd, thoughtful and confident; an energetic frontrunner; a master politician; a man of proven courage; and "an authentic war hero." But Time also warned that John Kennedy was "an Easterner who knew little about agriculture" and that he could be rather hard and cold, tough and ruthless.

Newsweek seemed more restrained and repetitive in its descriptions of John Kennedy. But it agreed that he was "the front-runner" and "the people's choice"--a fine, determined, upstanding young man; energetic and shrewd; confident and realistic; "the mastermind of his campaign."

In 1968, both Time and Newsweek acknowledged Robert Kennedy's strengths. They called him a tough, shrewd, dynamic young senator. He was "the odds-on favorite" with "a surprisingly broad base of support."

Other statements were less flattering. The news magazines also portrayed Robert Kennedy as an overconfident young man with too much ambition and a lackluster Senate record. They called some of his actions "unwise," "simplistic" and "vindictive" and added that he "occasionally played the demagogue" and was cursed with a "prosecutor's mentality and Sicilian yen for vendetta."

Time observed that Robert Kennedy "sometimes comes over as a hyperthyroid hippie" and that he was forced "to tone down his revolutionary rhetoric." Newsweek added that, "His nervous and sometimes tongue-tied speaking style makes him less than an ideal debater."

Even the crowds he attracted were suspect. Time reported that, "Bobby's appeal has been limited mostly to the militant young, Negroes and intellectuals." Newsweek

reported that he attracted "eye-popping," "frenzied," "shrieking mobs," including "mobs of young" and "mobs of teeny-boppers." In California, "Kennedy's car was engulfed by a shrieking mob--like the running of the bulls at Pamplona."

Edward Kennedy entered the 1980 presidential campaign "as a seemingly invincible candidate, perhaps the most glamorous politician in the U.S." News stories in Time reported that, "Seldom had such a promising campaign floundered with such astonishing swiftness." Edward Kennedy's campaign became a bitter, desperate, erratic struggle, troubled by poor planning and his "image as a big-spending liberal." Newsweek agreed that Edward Kennedy was a loser with "enormous negative ratings," "undermined by Chappaquiddick and his own roguish reputation." He became a "battered," "stumbling," "tottering" candidate. His campaign went sour, "suffering a dizzying fall in the polls."

Time and Newsweek also reported that Edward Kennedy seemed confused and poorly prepared. His delivery "was disastrously wooden" and he wandered through "rambling, almost incoherent sentences." Newsweek added that, "People aren't used to hearing a candidate say 'uh...uh...uh' all the time."

As the 1980 campaign ended, Edward Kennedy suddenly became a gracious, principled loser. He shrugged off defeat "with enough humor and grace to win the admiration of political opponents." Newsweek agreed that "...his dignity in the face of adversity has begun to persuade some people that Kennedy is more than a playboy politician who once drove off a bridge."

4. Health/Appearance

Thirty-two percent of the statements published about John Kennedy's health and appearance were favorable, compared with 27% of the statements about Edward Kennedy and only 9% of the statements about Robert Kennedy. Newsweek described John Kennedy as a tall, lithe, handsome man, with a flashing, friendly grin. But both Time and Newsweek published lengthy stories about a spinal injury he suffered while playing football at Harvard and aggravated during World War II. Newsweek

concluded that, "There is no question now but that his health has been completely restored...." Time agreed that, "Today, the only vestige of the spinal problem is that he still sleeps on a board, wears a light corset." However, Time also reported that he took regular doses of cortisone but "whether he is an arrested case of Addison's disease or a borderline adrenal insufficiency is unclear."

News stories described Robert Kennedy as a slim man: taunt, lean and sinewy. But they also mentioned his "shaggy mane," "toothy exterior" and "Bugs Bunny grin."

During the 1980 campaign, Newsweek described Edward Kennedy as a "handsome political superstar." But another story added that he was "looking worn and battered by defeat, his face blotchy, his eyes red-rimmed, his hands trembly, all but alone in his determination to plod on."

Edward Kennedy suffered three crushed vertebrae when a small plane crashed in 1964, and Time and Newsweek also reported that he "moved painfully," "flinched visibly" and needed daily rest periods "so that he can go soak for an hour in a hot bath." At times, "He was so stiff that he could barely walk into his home." Time speculated that, "That kind of difficulty has sometimes frayed his temper, and probably contributed to his erratic campaign performance."

5. Personality

Seventy-five percent of the statements that Time and Newsweek published about John Kennedy's personality were favorable. Conversely, 73% of the statements they published about Edward Kennedy's personality were unfavorable.

As he began to win the 1960 primaries, Time explained: "The biggest factor was Jack Kennedy himself. His easy manner, serious speeches and kenetic charm, his decision to fight out the religion issue, and even his Harvard accent--all won respect and votes." Newsweek agreed that, "Kennedy's biggest asset...is himself....He is well-educated, of good family, well-informed about national and world affairs, personally attractive. He has a first-rate mind."

Robert Kennedy's personality became a major issue in the 1968 campaign. Pollsters learned that some Americans considered Robert Kennedy a smart, courageous, aggressive candidate. But other Americans considered him an arrogant, ruthless, power-hungry politician. Skeptics added that Robert Kennedy was slyly scheming, "waiting for someone else to do his dirty work," and willing to "do almost anything, say almost anything, for political advantage."

Similarly, Edward Kennedy's character became a major issue in the 1980 campaign. Time and Newsweek reported that: "The senator encounters the Chappaquiddick issue almost everywhere he goes;" that, "The public has refused to forgive him...," and that the public believed, "He panicked and lied...."

Other news stories portrayed Edward Kennedy as an aggressive, determined, stubborn, sometimes angry and sometimes lonely man. Despite his flaws, Edward Kennedy charmed many voters and threatened incumbent Jimmy Carter. Newsweek explained: "Kennedy is not as klutzy as he has seemed. Beneath the layers of intellectual laziness and political carelessness that Kennedy has accumulated during years of coasting, there lurks a competent Irish politician."

6. Family

Twenty-four percent of the statements published about John Kennedy's family were favorable, compared to 19% for Robert Kennedy and 22% for Edward Kennedy. However, the magazines published fewer neutral and more unfavorable statements about the families of Robert and Edward Kennedy.

The most glamorous member of the clan was Jacqueline Kennedy. Time called her "the most exquisite First Lady since Frances Cleveland," but Newsweek insisted that she was "the youngest and prettiest wife of a presidential candidate since Dolley Madison." She also was described as a graceful young brunette and as "the quinessence of cultured, luminous young womanhood."

John Kennedy's 1960 campaign was "a family affair." During the Wisconsin primary, the state "was fairly crawling with Kennedy's kith and kin--his wife, his mother, three sisters, two brothers, a brother-in-law and two cousins." Only his father, Joe, remained on the sidelines, "viewing his son with unmitigated pride." Time and Newsweek called him "a tough and tightfisted operator" who had "made some bitter enemies" but had a Midas touch that made him a millionaire.

Prophetically during the 1960 campaign, John Kennedy predicted that, "Just as I went into politics because Joe died, if anything happened to me tomorrow, my brother Bobby would run for my seat in the Senate, and if Bobby died, Teddy would take over for him."

In 1968, both Time and Newsweek compared Robert Kennedy unfavorably with his older brother, John. When Robert Kennedy announced his candidacy, Time observed that, "Bobby notably lacked J.F.K.'s easy grace in reading his statement, stumbled over several answers, and failed to persuade skeptics...." Newsweek commented that: "It is amazing that two brothers, similarly reared, motivated and guided, should turn out to be so different. Grace under pressure was John F. Kennedy's trademark. Gracelessness under pressure is becoming Robert Kennedy's."

In 1980, Edward Kennedy became "the surviving heir to Camelot" with a campaign that "co-starred no fewer than 20 other Kennedys." But Time and Newsweek compared him unfavorably with both of his older brothers. Typically, Time reported that: "It is clear he does not have the depth and breadth of intellect of John. Ted's answers do not have the rich mix of history, fact and humor that J.F.K.'s years of reading produced. Nor does Ted possess the genuine interest in his surroundings that Bob carried everywhere." As the campaign continued, Time added that, "...the Camelot legacy is turning out to be one of Kennedy's biggest handicaps as many voters learn that he is not living up to their mythic memories of his brothers."

Other stories reported Edward Kennedy's marital problems. Newsweek called the Kennedys "something of an odd couple" and explained that, "In public, they had little to say to each other, and they rarely even exchange glances." Newsweek also reported that: "Joan Kennedy had been on a painful personal odessy, fighting a well-publicized battle against alcoholism. She had moved from Washington to Boston, leaving her husband and 12-year-old son behind...." Nevertheless, Newsweek added that she was "a forthright and effective figure on the campaign trail."

7. Religion

Time and Newsweek published 124 statements about John Kennedy's Catholicism but only 5 statements about Robert Kennedy's and 8 about Edward Kennedy's. During his 1960 campaign, John Kennedy had to convince Americans that his religious beliefs would not interfere with his duties as president. Apparently because of his success, Catholicism never became an issue in the 1968 and 1980 campaigns.

In 1960, Newsweek reported that, "All over the country, leading Protestant clergymen have strong reservations about electing a Catholic to the White House...." The clergymen questioned Kennedy's ability "to separate his allegiance to his church from his allegiance to his country." Some Democratic politicians simultaneously opposed Kennedy because they did not believe that the public would elect a Catholic. Later polls revealed that John Kennedy "would gain more by a big Catholic vote than he would lose," and Newsweek began to call John Kennedy's Catholicism "probably his most valuable practical political asset."

Time and Newsweek discussed the importance of John Kennedy's religion as he entered each new primary. After each victory, they discussed its impact upon voters. When John Kennedy began to campaign in Wisconsin, for example, Time reported that, "Fellow Roman Catholics...make up 30% of the total population." After Kennedy

won the Wisconsin primary, Time declared, "Last week Jack Kennedy proved beyond doubt...that an attractive, hard-campaigning Catholic candidate can count on a powerful Catholic vote."

When John Kennedy moved on to West Virginia, Time and Newsweek reported that the state was 95% Protestant and that, "About 25% of Humphrey's supporters said they were for Humphrey for one reason and one reason only--Kennedy's religion." After Kennedy's victory in West Virginia, Time declared that he had swept aside the religious issue, proving "that a Catholic can win handily in a heavily Protestant state."

The issue persisted throughout the 1960 campaign. On July 11, for example, Newsweek speculated that, "If Sen. Kennedy--young, Eastern, Catholic--wins the nomination, his running mate should be older, Protestant and from the West, Midwest or border states."

Two stories published in 1968 reported that Catholicism no longer was an issue in presidential elections, but other stories continued to examine the Catholic vote. Typically, Newsweek reported that 28% of the voters in Indiana were Catholic and that Robert Kennedy "swept the Catholics by 50 to 28% over McCarthy and 22% for Branigin."

Time and Newsweek mentioned Edward Kennedy's Catholicism 8 times. Virtually all their stories noted that he was losing even the Catholic vote.

8. Wealth/Campaign Finances

The Kennedys' wealth and campaign expenditures remained an issue in all three elections. Time and Newsweek published more statements about the issue during John Kennedy's 1960 campaign, but they published a larger percentage of critical statements about it during the 1968 and 1980 campaigns.

In 1960, Newsweek reported that John Kennedy was "wealthy" and that his father was a "financier." Time, which tended to be more judgmental, referred to "Millionaire Kennedy" and to "the Kennedy moneybags."

Political opponents also exploited the issue. Hubert Humphrey joked about "Jack's jack" and later complained: "You can't beat a billion dollars...I don't think elections should be bought." But Time and Newsweek also exposed Humphrey's tactics. On Jan. 11, Time predicted that Humphrey "will doubtless pursue a subdued rags vs. riches campaign." Later during the campaign, Time added that, "Humphrey continued to play his poorboy candidacy for all it was worth...."

John Kennedy responded with humor, cracking back: "I got a wire from my father that said, 'Dear Jack, Don't buy one vote more than necessary. I'll be damned if I pay for a landslide.'"

In 1968, Time reported that Robert Kennedy's campaign was "well-financed" and that, "Kennedy's finances come mostly from the family coffers." It also reported that, "There is the residual feeling in some quarters that the Kennedy millions 'bought' the White House once and that they are being untimbered in another attempt to do so."

Critical statements published during the 1980 campaign stressed Edward Kennedy's lack of financial support. Because contributions dwindled after he lost some early primaries, Edward Kennedy was forced to ground his 727 jet and "to scrimp along." By Feb. 4, he "found himself so strapped for funds that he had to stop paying his campaign workers."

9 and 10. Identified and Anonymous Sources

Time and Newsweek seemed to quote identified and anonymous sources in an effort to sample public opinion, illustrate trends, present the opinions of prominent figures, reveal inside information and report the charges and counter-charges of political rivals.

By quoting other sources, the news magazines also were able to absolve themselves of responsibility for some of the most extreme statements presented to their readers. For example: they reported that Jackie Robinson called Jack Kennedy the "fair-haired boy of Southern segregationists." LBJ claimed that, without cortisone, John Kennedy "would not be alive." An unidentified Los Angeles housewife called Robert Kennedy "dogmatic, ruthless, dangerous and as phony as an $18 bill." Eugene Pulliam, owner of The Indianapolis Star, added that: "Bobby Kennedy is like all spoiled children. When he doesn't get what he wants, he bellyaches about it."

Analysis and Commentary

Through their selection of facts, wording and emphasis, Time and Newsweek presented consistent caricatures of John, Robert and Edward Kennedy. During his 1960 campaign, John Kennedy was portrayed as an attractive, candid, popular and courageous leader. Time and Newsweek also were impressed by his charming personality and first-rate mind. His image was so positive that his younger brothers suffered in comparison to it. They were portrayed as popular candidates, but their personalities, integrity and intellect were suspect. Time and Newsweek criticized even their physical appearances.

Thus, both Time and Newsweek treated John Kennedy more favorably than either of his brothers.

The data also revealed major changes in the importance of various campaign issues. Most obviously, the Kennedys' age and religion disappeared as issues after John Kennedy's success in 1960. Interest in other topics, such as the Kennedys' health, wealth, families and personalities, remained high in all three campaigns.

In 1960, Time and Newsweek (but especially Time) referred to John Kennedy as "Catholic Kennedy" and as "Millionaire Kennedy." However, labels referring to his religion and wealth appeared only in stories about those topics. Examples include:

*"Catholic Kennedy minimizes religion as a political issue."

*"Operation Kennedy takes big money--such as only Millionaire Jack Kennedy can afford."

*"Humphrey's followers bitterly accused Millionaire Kennedy of trying to buy the Wisconsin primary."

The fact that Newsweek quoted 116 anonymous sources, and that Time quoted only 20, was unexpected. The discrepancy may be explained by the fact that Newsweek was more likely to attribute the information it reported, whereas reporters and editors at Time tended to interpret the information and then to present their own conclusions about it, without citing any sources.

Also, both magazines were most likely to identify sources critical of the Kennedys and to use anonymous sources for the presentation of more neutral opinions about them.

Finally, this study revealed that Time is still the most colorful of the two news magazines. During the 1960 campaign, for example, Time reported that Jack and Jackie Kennedy went through their rounds "without losing an ounce of bounce," and that Kennedy's 70-year-old mother, Rose, "left no Kaffeklatch unpercolated." Time also reported that Americans were "Kennedy-minded" and that John Kennedy "ran like a jackrabbit" and "glad-handed through towns," sometimes "moving like a honeybee in the spring" and sometimes "whooshing across the political skies." In 1968, Time added that Rose Kennedy was "cash-candid" and that Robert Kennedy's "clipper was sailing smartly." While describing Robert Kennedy, it also commented that: "He is dynamic. He is virile. He once faced down a rhinoceros he met by chance in the jungle."

Summary

The authors analyzed the stories that Time and Newsweek published about the presidential campaigns of John, Robert and Edward Kennedy. They found that the percentage of favorable, neutral and unfavorable statements the two magazines published about the Kennedys was surprisingly similar. Also, both magazines published proportionately more favorable statements and fewer unfavorable statements about John Kennedy than about either of his brothers.

Apparently because of John Kennedy's success in 1960, two of the major issues that plagued his 1960 campaign--his age and Catholicism--never re-emerged as issues in 1968 or 1980. Other issues, such as the brothers' personalities, families, wealth and campaign finances, and health and appearance, remained important in all three campaigns.

Newsweek quoted 116 anonymous sources and 70 identified sources, compared to 20 anonymous sources and 61 identified sources quoted by Time. Contrary to expectations, the identified rather than the anonymous sources were most likely to agree with the magazines' editorial viewpoints. Statements made by the anonymous sources were more likely to be neutral than favorable or unfavorable.

John Kennedy was portrayed as a charming, attractive, intelligent, popular and courageous leader. Robert Kennedy was portrayed as a tough, shrewd young senator, but the news magazines also warned that he was an aggressive, arrogant, ruthless and vindictive candidate who appealed to shrieking mobs. Edward Kennedy was portrayed as a loser: as an unpopular candidate; a rambling, incoherent speaker; a rogue whose behavior at Chappaquiddick had never been adequately explained.

Table I

	Total	Favorable	Neutral	Unfavorable	Total	Favorable	Neutral	Unfavorable	Total	Favorable	Neutral	Unfavorable
1. Attribution												
A. Newsweek	96	3%	89%	8%	9	0%	67%	33%	30	7%	77%	17%
B. Time	86	5%	88%	7%	41	2%	88%	10%	36	0%	83%	17%
C. Average	91	4%	89%	8%	25	2%	84%	14%	33	3%	80%	17%
2. Age												
A. Newsweek	26	8%	65%	27%	3	33%	66%	0%	1	0%	100%	0%
B. Time	15	7%	47%	47%	5	0%	40%	60%	1	0%	100%	0%
C. Average	21	7%	59%	34%	4	13%	50%	38%	1	0%	100%	0%
3. Adverbs/Adjectives												
A. Newsweek	63	59%	34%	8%	76	22%	47%	30%	99	11%	22%	67%
B. Time	123	54%	39%	7%	220	23%	41%	36%	111	12%	37%	51%
C. Average	93	55%	37%	8%	148	23%	43%	35%	105	11%	30%	59%
4. Health/Appearance												
A. Newsweek	9	44%	44%	11%	4	0%	75%	25%	2	50%	0%	50%
B. Time	10	20%	50%	30%	7	14%	29%	57%	9	22%	44%	33%
C. Average	10	32%	47%	21%	6	9%	46%	46%	6	27%	36%	36%
5. Personality												
A. Newsweek	27	70%	22%	7%	20	30%	25%	45%	40	13%	10%	78%
B. Time	13	85%	15%	0%	19	26%	21%	53%	23	4%	30%	65%
C. Average	20	75%	20%	5%	20	28%	23%	49%	32	10%	18%	73%
6. Families												
A. Newsweek	55	22%	62%	16%	36	22%	53%	25%	32	22%	41%	38%
B. Time	30	27%	70%	3%	22	14%	59%	27%	22	23%	50%	27%
C. Average	43	24%	65%	12%	29	19%	55%	26%	27	22%	44%	33%
7. Religion												
A. Newsweek	75	11%	56%	33%	3	67%	33%	0%	5	0%	20%	80%
B. Time	49	18%	61%	20%	2	50%	50%	0%	3	0%	100%	0%
C. Average	62	14%	58%	28%	3	60%	40%	0%	4	0%	50%	50%
8. Wealth/Finances												
A. Newsweek	21	5%	76%	19%	9	22%	44%	33%	7	14%	29%	57%
B. Time	13	8%	62%	31%	7	29%	29%	43%	14	7%	21%	71%
C. Average	17	6%	71%	24%	8	25%	38%	38%	11	10%	24%	67%
9. Identified Sources												
A. Newsweek	40	53%	13%	35%	6	33%	0%	66%	24	25%	17%	58%
B. Time	9	11%	44%	44%	15	13%	13%	73%	37	11%	32%	57%
C. Average	25	45%	18%	37%	11	19%	10%	71%	31	16%	26%	57%
10. Anonymous Sources												
A. Newsweek	54	30%	37%	33%	3	33%	33%	33%	59	10%	41%	50%
B. Time	6	50%	0%	50%	4	0%	75%	25%	10	20%	30%	50%
C. Average	30	32%	33%	35%	4	14%	57%	29%	35	12%	39%	49%
TOTALS	820	28%	55%	17%	511	21%	45%	34%	565	12%	37%	51%

Table II

	Total Favorable Statements	Total Neutral Statements	Total Unfavorable Statements
Identified Sources	36 (28%)	27 (21%)	68 (52%)
Anonymous Sources	28 (21%)	51 (38%)	57 (42%)

Table III

	Favorable Statements About John Kennedy	Neutral Statements About John Kennedy	Unfavorable Statements About John Kennedy
Identified Sources	22 (45%)	9 (18%)	18 (37%)
Anonymous Sources	19 (32%)	20 (33%)	21 (35%)

Footnotes

[1]David Shaw, "Fierce Rivals: *Newsweek* Versus *Time*," *The Los Angeles Times*, May 1, 1980.

[2]*Ibid*.

[3]David Halberstam, *The Powers That Be* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979), p. 62.

[4]John W. C. Johnstone, Edward J. Slawski and William W. Bowman, *The News People* (Urbana, The University of Illinois Press, 1976), p. 224.

[5]"Kennedy's One-Note Message," *Time*, March 24, 1980, p. 18.

[6]John C. Merrill, "How Time Stereotyped Three U.S. Presidents," *Journalism Quarterly*, 42:563-70 (1965).

[7]*Ibid*., p. 569.

[8]Fred Fedler, Mike Meeske and Joe Hall, "*Time* Magazine Revisited: Presidential Stereotypes Persist," *Journalism Quarterly*, 56:353-59.

[9]*Ibid*., p. 359.

[10]"Inside the '60 Hopefuls' Camps," *Newsweek*, June 6, 1969, p. 34.